

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2070
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AMEMBASSY LONDON UNN
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG UNN
AMEMBASSY PARIS UNN
AMEMBASSY ROME UNN
AMEMBASSY HAGUE UNN
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1259

FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EEC, UK, CSCE, NATO
SUBJECT: EC-NINE PAPER ON NEW PROPOSALS AT BELGRADE

REF: LONDON 03620

1. AT A MARCH 7 MEETING WITH NON-EC-NINE ALLIED DELS,
UK POLAD MARGETSON, ON BEHALF OF THE NINE, CIRCULATED FOLLOWING EC-NINE PAPER ON DISCUSSION OF NEW PROPOSALS AT BELGRADE. MARGETSON NOTED THAT THE PAPER IS "PHILOSOPHICAL", THAT THE NINE ARE STILL STUDYING CONFIDENTIAL

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SPECIFIC PROPOSALS, AND THAT THEIR PLANS IN THIS REGARD SHOULD BECOME CLEARER FOLLOWING THE MARCH 15-16 MEETING OF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS. UK REP DID NOT, HOWEVER, ANTICIPATE THAT NINE WOULD CIRCULATE PAPERS ON SPECIFIC PROPOSALS AT MARCH 22-24 MEETING OF NATO CSCE EXPERTS.

2. BEGIN TEXT:
DISCUSSION OF NEW PROPOSALS IN BELGRADE

I INTRODUCTION

1. ON THE BASIS OF THE FINAL ACT, AND JUDGING BY THE RECENT WORDS AND DEEDS OF A NUMBER OF CSCE PARTICIPANTS, IT SEEMS TO BE INEVITABLE THAT THERE WILL BE A DISCUSSION ON "NEW PROPOSALS" IN BELGRADE.

2. THE PROBLEM FOR THE NINE TO DECIDE ON IS, THEREFORE, NOT WHETHER THEY WISH THERE TO BE A DISCUSSION ON NEW PROPOSALS, BUT RATHER THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY WISH TO INFLUENCE THIS DISCUSSION BY SUBMITTING NEW PROPOSALS OF THEIR OWN.

II. CATEGORIES OF PROPOSALS

3. POSSIBLE PROPOSALS CAN BE DIVIDED, ACCORDING TO THE DEGREE OF NOVELTY INVOLVED, INTO THREE CATEGORIES:

(A) THOSE INTENDED TO MAKE FOR MORE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROVISIONS CALREADY CLEARLY DEFINED IN THE FINAL ACT. SUCH PROPOSALS COULD BE DIRECTED AT

(I) THE ORGANISATION OF MEETINGS OF EXPERTS PROVIDED FOR IN THE FINAL ACT. THE MANDATE FOR SUCH MEETINGS SHOULD RESTRICT THEIR ACTIVITIES TO THE DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE NEW DEVELOPMENTS. THEY SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO DISTRACT ATTENTION FROM UNILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION.

(II) THE SUBMISSION OF RECOMMENDATIONS TO EXISTING INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS, SUCH AS THE ECE, UNESCO
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AND THE ILO, FOR THEIR FUTURE WORK ON PARTICULAR SUBJECTS.

(III) THE CLARIFICATION OF PASSAGES OF THE FINAL ACT WHICH AT PRESENT LACK PRECISION.

(B) THOSE BASED ON THE RELATIVELY FEW CLAUSES OF THE FINAL ACT WHICH CLEARLY LEAVE OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR BEING DEVELOPED. MORE EXPLICITLY THAN THOSE IN CATEGORY (A), THESE PROPOSALS WOULD BE DIRECTED AT ENLARGING SOMEWHAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT;

(C) THOSE WHICH, ALTHOUGH BASED (OR CLAIMED TO BE BASED) ON A SPECIFIC PROVISION OF THE FINAL ACT, CLEARLY ENVISAGE ENLARGING UPON THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE DOCUMENT, OR DEALING WITH SUBJECTS WHICH WERE DISCUSSED AT GENEVA ONLY IN PART IF AT ALL.

4. THE BELGRADE MEETING WILL NOT BE A NEW CSCE, AND OUR MAIN INTEREST WILL BE TO URGE THE PARTICIPATING STATES TO IMPLEMENT FULLY ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT, UNILATERALLY AND AUTONOMOUSLY, WITHOUT RESERVES, RESTRICTIONS OR PRECONDITIONS. WE SHOULD RESIST THE TEMPTATION TO "INTERPRET" THOSE PROVISIONS WHICH SEEM TO LACK PRECISION, SINCE THE CONSENSUS RULE WILL MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN A FORM OF WORDS ENTIRELY IN OUR FAVOUR; MOREOVER, ANY SUCH ATTEMPT BY THE NINE MIGHT CAUSE THE EAST TO SEEK COMPENSATION IN AREAS DIFFICULT FOR US. ANY ATTEMPT AT REINTER-

PRETATION WOULD RISK UPSETTING THE PRESENT BALANCE OF THE FINAL ACT, WHICH WAS ONLY ACHIEVED AFTER EXTREMELY DIFFICULT NEGOTIATION.

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III. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS RELATING TO NEW PROPOSALS
5. THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW PROPOSALS WOULD INVOLVE CERTAIN RISKS AND DIFFICULTIES. THEY MIGHT, FOR INSTANCE, DISTRACT ATTENTION FROM EVALUATION OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT. THE NINE WILL HAVE TO NEGOTIATE PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WOULD REDUCE THAT RISK TO A MINIMUM: PERHAPS BY TREATING THE EVALUATION IN PLENARY AND NEW PROPOSALS IN COMMITTEES, OR BY ENSURING THAT EVALUATION AND NEW PROPOSALS IN COMMITTEES, OR BY ENSURING THAT EVALUATION AND NEW PROPOSALS ARE DISCUSSED CONSECUTIVELY.

6. A POSSIBLE DANGER IN THE TABLING OF NEW PROPOSALS BY THE NINE
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MIGHT BE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A "DEMANDEUR" POSITION OF OUR OWN, WHICH WOULD THEN LEAD TO PAYING A PRICE IN OTHER FIELDS. CARE WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE TAKEN TO CONTROL THE CONFRONTATIONAL ELEMENT INHERENT IN THE PRESENTATION OF CERTAIN TYPES OF NEW PROPOSALS.

7. WHILE IT WOULD CLEARLY BE DESIRABLE FOR ANY NEW PROPOSALS

MADE TO REFLECT THE BALANCE OF THE FINAL ACT ITSELF, THERE ARE MANY PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT WHICH IN THE WESTERN VIEW ARE SUITABLE FOR UNILATERAL RATHER THAN BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION, AND THEREFORE CANNOT EASILY BE MADE THE SUBJECT OF NEW PROPOSALS.

8. ON THE OTHER HAND THERE ARE SEVERAL FACTORS WHICH SUGGEST THAT THE PRESENTATION OF A LIMITED NUMBER OF NEW PROPOSALS IN BELGRADE WOULD BE OF ADVANTAGE TO THE NINE:

(A) THE DISCUSSION OF SOME NEW PROPOSALS IN BELGRADE WOULD HELP TO KEEP ALIVE THE MULTILATERAL CSCE DIALOGUE, IN WHICH THE NINE HAVE, BY NOW, A VESTED INTEREST. IF THE BELGRADE MEETING WAS ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION ONLY, PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE EXERCISE MIGHT SUFFER:

(B) FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF SUBSTANCE, IT MIGHT BE WISE NOT TO FOREGO AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF PROVISIONS WHICH PRESENT PARTICULAR INTEREST TO THE NINE;

(C) IT MIGHT BE TACTICALLY USEFUL TO SUBMIT PROPOSALS IN FIELDS WHICH ARE ALSO OF INTEREST TO THE NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED, BOTH IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE THE FACT THAT WESTERN AND NEUTRAL THINKING RUN PARALLEL IN AN INCREASING NUMBER OF FIELDS AND, THROUGH AN ACTIVE CO-ORDINATION WITH THOSE STATES, TO EXERT SOME INFLUENCE ON THEIR PROPOSALS;

(C) IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO SUBMIT SOME PROPOSALS TO BALANCE THE LESS PATLATABLE ONES EXPECTED FROM THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES, WHICH COULD IN THE END LEAD TO A CANCELLING OF BOTH IN A FINAL ROUND OF BARGAINING;
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(E) IT IS MOST DESIRABLE THAT THE NINE SHOULD CONTINUE TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE CSCE EXERCISE. IF THEY WERE TO LIMIT THEIR EFFORTS TO THE EVALUATION OF IMPLEMENTATION THEY COULD NOT AVOID MAKING A PASSIVE IMPRESSION BOTH ON THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS AND ON THEIR OWN PUBLIC. THEIR POLITICAL PRESTIGE, WHICH RECEIVED A CONSIDERABLE STIMULUS IN HELSINKI AND GENEVA, WOULD INEVITABLY SUFFER. WITH THEIR PUBLIC OPINION IN MIND, IT MAY WELL BE ADVISABLE FOR THE NINE TO TAKE STEPS TO ENSURE THAT THEY WILL BE IN A POSITION AT BELGRADE TO PUT FORWARD, IF NECESSARY, NEW PROPOSALS WHICH WILL MATCH IN SCOPE AND SIGNIFICANCE THOSE OF THE EAST.

IV WHAT PROPOSALS TO SUBMIT

9. ACCORDINGLY THE NINE WILL WISH AS A MATTER OF SOME URGENCY TO CONSIDER WHAT PROPOSALS COULD BE SUBMITTED IN BELGRADE.

10. THE PROPOSALS SO FAR RECEIVED FROM THE WARSAW PACT STATES APPEAR TO BE AIMED AT BREAKING NEW GROUND, AND AT DIVERTING

ATTENTION BOTH FROM THE FINAL ACT AND FROM THE EVALUATION OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION.

11. IF THE NINE WISH TO PRESERVE THE INTEGRITY OF THE FINAL ACT AND TO HAVE THE ATTENTION OF THE MEETING FOCUSSED ON IT, IT WOULD SEEM LOGICAL FOR US TO CONCENTRATE ON PROPOSALS BELONGING TO THE CATEGORIES DESCRIBED IN PARA. 3(A) AND (B) ABOVE; VIZ AIMING AT A BETTER, AND AT MOST A SOMEWHAT EXTENDED, IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT. IF THIS COURSE WERE FOLLOWED, THE DISCUSSION ON IMPLEMENTATION COULD SPILL OVER FROM THE EVALUATION INTO THE CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS, INSTEAD OF THE LATTER DISTRACTING ATTENTION FROM THE FORMER.

12. THE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED STATES COULD BE ENCOURAGED TO DO THE SAME. AS FOR THE FOUR NEUTRALS, MUCH OF THEIR THINKING SEEMS AT PRESENT TO POINT IN THIS DIRECTION IN ANY CASE.
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13. EASTERN EUROPEAN PROPOSALS BELONGING TO CATEGORY 3(C) COULD IN PRINCIPLE BE REFUSED ON THE GROUND THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE A SUFFICIENT BASIS IN THE FINAL ACT, AND THAT CONSEQUENTLY THEY ARE OUT OF ORDER IN BELGRADE. THIS APPROACH MIGHT, HOWEVER, LOOK TOO LEGALISTIC IN THE EYES OF THE PUBLIC, AND THE NINE WILL - AS THEY ARE DOING ALREADY - HAVE TO PREPARE FOR A DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANCE. APART FROM THAT, IT COULD BE ARGUED THAT, IF ONLY FOR TACTICAL REASONS, THE NINE WOULD DO WELL TO PREPARE A LIMITED NUMBER OF PROPOSALS IN THE SAME CATEGORY, CLEARLY FAVOURING THEIR OWN INTERESTS - EG IN THE FIELDS OF BASKET III AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

14. IN LINE WITH THE IDEA IN PARAGRAPH 11 ABOVE, IT MAY BE TACTICALLY USEFUL FOR WESTERN COUNTRIES TO ESTABLISH A CLOSE AND CLEARLY COMPREHENSIBLE LINK BETWEEN THE PROCESS OF EVALUATION AND THE FORMULATION OF NEW PROPOSALS.

V. SPECIFIC NEW PROPOSALS

15. THE CHOICE OF SPECIFIC NEW PROPOSALS TO ADVANCE AT BELGRADE WILL NEED TO BE MADE NEARER THE TIME, AND TO TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED AND EASTERN EUROPEAN PLANS IN THIS SPHERE. MEANWHILE IT WILL BE USEFUL FOR THE NINE TO DEVOTE MORE DETAILED STUDY TO PROPOSALS WHICH CAN BE HELD IN RESERVE. END TEXT STRAUSSZ-HUPE

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